

# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

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## The Choice Is Clear Now

PAULA SNELLING \*

Today Eugene Talmadge announced his candidacy for Governor of Georgia. His platform is the white primary, white supremacy and the protection of Georgia's white and black people from such alien and communistic ideas as human equality. When the campaign warms up he will call on all who believe in Christianity, democracy and Southern tradition to cast their vote for him. Many church members in good standing, many people who in their hearts believe themselves followers of Christ, many people who recently sent their sons to die for democracy, will support him.

Incredible though it is, this triple blasphemy against God and democracy and sanity, all in the name of Southern tradition, has a familiar sound in the ears of America. We know that this is true, but it is difficult to see why. To understand it, to learn its origin, to follow its ramifications through our culture is the province of a book, not a short article. Yet we must look here at its peaks, for they cast dark shadows on church spires throughout our land.

### *Southern Tradition Not a Southern Monopoly*

There are few of us naive enough today to believe that Southern tradition is a Southern monopoly. It is just our way, down South, of saying that segregation means more to us than Christianity or democracy. It is our way of saying that we don't want One World for everybody, but a private world for ourselves, in which we retain more than our share of certain things that mean more to us than integrity. It is our way of saying that we are too blind to see, too far gone down the road to suicidal insanity to care, that in a world where science has cut to the heart of the physical universe, releasing from the atom the stored-up energy of the ages, our morality is still only skin-deep. It is our way of saying that, somewhere along the road, hate and guilt and fear got the upper hand with us; that, no matter how much we advertise it as love for Christ, the love we really practice is love for self. Other people say these things in other words, and few speak as brazenly as Gene Talmadge; but throughout our nation, and over most of the face of the earth, when men with white skins have to choose between Christianity and segregation, their hesitancy is not in choosing, but in finding ways to conceal from themselves the implications of their choice.

### *Slavery and Brotherhood*

These are harsh words that hurt like a stone pressed into flesh. Yet only by looking at Southern tradition and White Supremacy for what they really are can we understand the wounding consequences of that devastating choice our church made a hundred years ago between slavery and brotherhood. We stuffed cottony words about brotherhood into our ears to shut out the sound of the lash on men's backs, but we chose slavery; a century later, with senses now so dulled

that few of us can see the lash it gives black pride, we still choose segregation. And we still pay the price of our choice: for segregation does more than separate white men from black men; it separates white minds from knowledge, white hearts from sympathy, white lives from Christ's way of life.

As a consequence of the church's unwillingness to face in clear-cut terms the central social and moral issue of the past century, our preachers have shut themselves away from reality itself, talking more and more about theology, more and more about moral trivialities. In the rural and small-town Southern churches, there is seldom an attempt to understand what men's needs are and how creative ways of filling them can be substituted for destructive ways. Instead, there have been authoritarian pronouncements about what constitutes sin and emotionally-based campaigns to save people from sin. The result has been that the church has lost much of its prestige, its vitality, its power to influence men. Today, in a world suddenly shrunk so close in upon itself that men hunger for guidance, the church does not have a moral vantage point from which to speak about atoms and internationalism and war.

### *Epidermic Morality*

Many of the church's leaders realize this and have set about the task of cleansing their hearts and their hands. The most honorable step taken in the religious world of America in three generations is the recent resolutions of the YWCA, the Federal Council of Churches, and the YMCA against segregation within their organizations. If this new humility and honesty of self-appraisal has not come too late to be translated into acts, if this verbal policy of non-segregation becomes a reality throughout these great organizations, the church will have saved its own soul and men will again listen when it talks about the souls of others. For only to the degree that it frees itself from its century-long sponsorship of the white man's epidermic morality will the world listen when it attempts—as it must attempt—to face the other critical issues of our day.

Every sane man knows that the choice before us now is one that cannot be clouded by soft words: it is the choice between life and death, and dead men have no use for words. We reached the heart of the physical universe when we split the atom's proton from its nucleus. Only by reaching to the heart of the spiritual universe, only by splitting hate from love, only by making brotherhood today's reality instead of tomorrow's dream, can the human race master this newly released physical energy and make it a tool for ever richer life instead of the instrument of universal death.

### *Love the Way to Life*

Two thousand years ago Christ told us that all men are brothers, that human personality is sacred, that love is

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# Our India

JOSEPH BARTH \*

Christopher Columbus was certainly not the last person to look on Puerto Rico and think: "India!" In the United States in these last few years when the status of India in the British Empire has become a question of international interest and debate, some people have in their more quiet moments asked themselves, "What about Puerto Rico? What about 'our India'?"

Like all analogies, there are many ways in which this one is inaccurate. India is a vast territory with teeming millions of people. Puerto Rico is a small island, thirty-five miles wide and a hundred miles long with only two million inhabitants. India is much divided by differing religious groups while Puerto Rico is composed almost wholly of indifferent members of one religious faith. India has its extremes of rain and drouth and temperature while Puerto Rico has a more uniform and adequate rainfall and an almost idyllic range of tropic sea-breeze temperature which in summer averages 80° and in winter averages 75°!

Again, it should be recognized that however unpopular British rule has been in India, His Majesties government has taken a constantly keen interest in India while the government of the United States has shown toward Puerto Rico a most vacillating policy, now of interest, then of disinterest but generally of sheer irresponsible lethargy.

## *Differences Between India and Puerto Rico*

Economically also India is recognized as a colony rich in varied natural resources while Puerto Rico's chief resources are those of climate, abundant—indeed superabundant—manpower and the ability of the island's valleys and hillsides to produce sugar cane, the major crop of the island.

Clearly, there are many and significant differences between India and Puerto Rico in "our" West Indies. But the phrase "our India" has popped into the minds of far too many people who think about the problems of Puerto Rico in its relations with the United States for it to be altogether inapplicable. The British Empire has its colonial problem symbolized in India; for us in the United States there is still "the unsolved problem" of Puerto Rico.

Like the British who talk magnanimously about India we have used some large and pleasant words to stir the hopes of those living in our "unorganized" territory. Indeed on July 25, 1898, when General Miles landed on the south coast of the island of Puerto Rico to wrest it from Spain and occupy it for the United States, he stirred to life an old, crushed dream of the islanders with his statement:

"We have not come to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property, to promote you prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of our liberal government.

"This is not a war of devastation, but one to give to all within control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization."

In the near half century since General Miles' statement, nobody in the United States or in Puerto Rico would think of denying that the island has been in complete "control of . . . military and naval forces" from the United States. Indeed, from General Miles' time to this day, and especially in our two world wars, Puerto Rico has been considered and used as our major military, naval and air base guarding the whole Caribbean area and most especially the strategically important Panama Canal. The value to citizens of this United States that guardian base is vast and almost impossible to calculate.

And yet—though the "control of" the island by our "military and naval forces" has persistently remained to the advantage of the United States—it is difficult to say in precisely what ways those forces or the government they represent have showered upon Puerto Rico "the advantages and blessings of our enlightened civilization."

The average family income in Puerto Rico is less than \$350 per year of which more than 4/5 is spent for very scanty meals usually consisting of strong coffee for breakfast, codfish and native vegetables for lunch and for the evening meal, rice and beans. Less than half the families on the Island use milk, and those few who do, use less than half a pint per day per person. The average Puerto Rican is able each year to buy less than half as much fish, meat and green vegetables as is consumed by the average Southern Negro.

## *Lack of Real Opportunity*

Though there are an increasing number of fine modern residences and business buildings in the major cities of the island the very great majority of the houses are not houses at all but *bohios*—shacks—much like those you will find down by the river bank or beside the railroad track in most of our own large cities. Pieces of tin, galvanized iron, tar paper, cardboard and old lumber serve to build many of them. Not long ago during a visit to the island I met a poor farmhand who in the course of the conversation, said: "I hope that soon a hurricane will come to the island." "Why?" I asked. "Aren't hurricanes very destructive?" "Oh, yes," he said, "destructive enough. But when they come all the houses blow down and then one has the chance of collecting from all over the countryside the pieces for a better *bohio*." To one Puerto Rican at least hurricanes function like "trust-busters" to stimulate competition in the midst of increased "opportunity."

Lack of real opportunity hangs like a pall over human life in "our India" despite the fact that Puerto Ricans are ruled by a nation which is frequently called the "land of opportunity." The Government of the United States and especially the Insular government strive to furnish education for the island and indeed have lessened the rate of illiteracy since 1899 from 79.6 to 35.6 at latest report. And wages have increased during that period from 30¢ per day to a \$1.20 per day legal minimum a great part of this increase however being "inflationary." But the increase in working time per year has not increased for most of the island's inhabitants. At least half their days they live without employment. A third or fourth grade education which is all that 60 per cent of the Island's "literate" get may rouse hope a little and raise incentive a trifle, but basically opportunity for even intellectual enlightenment is greatly limited by the scarcity of schools and teachers and by near-starvation diets, debilitating diseases and hookworm which in some rural communities inflicts itself in as high as 80 per cent of the generally shoeless agricultural community.

Real opportunity for economic security even on a minimum level for health and growth simply does not exist for most Puerto Ricans. With much the same inhuman logic by which our own recent near-starvation days of depression in the 1930's were diagnosed as due to "over-production" the economic problem of Puerto Rico is frequently called one of "over-population." "Puerto Ricans are so poor because there are so many of them on such a small island without great natural resources"—so runs the argument which seems to make it a sin to be born.

But this diagnosis hides a large half of the problem. It is not necessarily the large number of people on the island but rather the lack of opportunity they have to improve themselves which is depressing. And here is where Puerto

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Ricans feel that they are recipients not of "the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization" but rather of its disadvantages and its curse.

### Islanders Do Not Control Destiny

For in the first place the citizens of "Our India," technically citizens of the United States, are not as a matter of fact allowed fully to govern themselves. Their governor, their attorney general, their auditor, their Commissioner of Education and their major judges are appointed by the President of the United States and though serving with largely negative power are able to frustrate the will of the Insular Government, when and if they choose. Thus by virtue of Gen. Miles' landing an army of occupation on Puerto Rico the islanders have never since been allowed to control their own political destinies. Only under the last two governors has the Insular Government had anything like a fair consideration of its legislation and been relatively free from the scourge of progress-stifling veto.

In 1941, Governor Swope signed a clear-cut minimum wage law and also the much discussed Land Law "which was the first official sanction given by a United States government official to the attempts of the Insular Government in the name of its people to break up the "land monopoly," which was controlled in great part by absentee owners.

In September of 1941 Rexford G. Tugwell took office as governor and has endeared himself to the Puerto Rican populace by his attempt to be a governor "of and for" the best interests of the island. Indeed in his message to the 16th Insular Legislature the governor went so far as to urge the legislators to act straight-forwardly and persistently in the interests of their constituents assuring them in the words of Justice Holmes that "the Constitution did not enact 'laissez-faire.'"

For more than 40 years it may have seemed to the Puerto Ricans that the American Constitution did stand precisely for a policy of: "do nothing in the interest of Puerto Ricans." In 1900, as a result of "pressuring" of sugar owners in Hawaii and the Philippines, Congress issued, under the terms of the Foraker Act, a clear denial of the right of anyone to own more than 500 acres of land in Puerto Rico. This law was meant to prevent new and competitive sugar interests in Puerto Rico from growing in size and power. But the law was disregarded and large sugar plantations were developed.

These great sugar capitalists brought with them the expensive machinery of sugar cane processing which to operate efficiently had to have huge supplies of sugar cane. In a market protected by tariff, sugar production was highly lucrative and accordingly great capital from the U.S.A. was spent in Puerto Rico to buy up land, at what seemed to its owners at the time, a good price. The great sugar *centrales* were built to the size of minimum efficiency by turning land owning farmers into wage workers who were most of the year unemployed. As the sugar plantations grew in power they set their own price for sugar cane and forced many more farmers into bankruptcy—their land in such cases generally being taken over by the large owners.

### Misrule and Exploitation

The result was increasing peonage for thousands of Puerto Ricans. From 1910 to 1930 while the population was increasing by 38 per cent the number of farms had decreased by 5,506 and the total acreage of land "operated by managers" had increased three fold! There in brief statistic is the story of what happened to economic opportunity in Puerto Rico under United States rule. Seventy-two per cent of all the farms of Puerto Rico contain only 12.4 per cent of all the tillable land, generally the worst land; until very recently, when the old Foraker Act (invented for another purpose) was invoked, four large companies owned by absentee landlords controlled at least 70 per cent of the land.

Politically and economically we have misruled and exploited "our India" though as in the case of India there have

always been those in the United States and in Puerto Rico to point to the facts with shame and anger.

Meanwhile, of course, we have kept up a grandly flowing stream of magnanimous words. Only recently, on October 16, 1945, President Truman reiterated classic government terminology when he said:

"It is the settled policy of this government to promote the political, social, and economic development of people who have not yet attained full self-government and eventually to make it possible for them to determine their own form of government. . . .

"The present form of government appears to be unsatisfactory to a large number of its inhabitants. . . . Uncertainty has been created among people as to just what the future of Puerto Rico is to be. These uncertainties should be cleared away at an early date."

Of course the future of Puerto Rico is uncertain. It is uncertain because the United States has no clear or settled policy concerning the political status of Puerto Rico. It is uncertain because most Congressmen are too busy with something else to give consistent interest to the problems of Puerto Rico. Its future is uncertain because decades of economic exploitation have built up a small aristocracy of wealth which until very recently ruled without consideration for the large population it had dispossessed. Its future is uncertain because bad housing, inferior education, ill health, insufficient food and chronic unemployment haunt the majority of Puerto Ricans and drive them to despair or outbursts of almost hysterical action. It is uncertain because even though at the moment political leadership on the island is united in its appeal to Congress for a plebiscite to settle the form of its own future status Congress itself is lethargic as usual about "our India."

Finally, the political status of Puerto Rico is uncertain because most people in the United States either accept the propaganda of absentee landlords whose friends control a great part of our Press, or they are completely uninterested in the future of two million citizens of uncertain status who struggle against long odds to better their own economic and political conditions.

What Puerto Ricans need is not more of the fine verbiage they have long heard from lips in the United States. What they need is the support, in their appeal to Congress for a plebiscite, of letters to Senators and Representatives from every socially conscious voter in this country. They need the assurance that they as citizens shall have the same right that you have as a citizen—the right to elect representatives to govern them; the right of a voice and a vote for those representatives; the right for full participation in the responsibilities and benefits of the United States many of which are now denied them; the right to vote their own destiny. That is your right as an American citizen. Why not for those two million Puerto Ricans in "our India?"



"Yuh say his brother is on the State-Highway Commission?"



# Win the Peace!

(Under the sponsorship of several hundred outstanding American citizens including three Senators and twenty Congressmen, a WIN THE PEACE conference convened in the Dept. of Commerce auditorium, Washington, D. C., early in April. The Methodist Federation for Social Service was one of the sponsoring organizations of this important conference. As a result, a NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN THE PEACE was set up, with Col. Evans Carlson, hero of Makin and Saipan, and Paul Robeson, as co-chairmen.

Here is the "Declaration of Principles" which was adopted by the conference.)

We are met to WIN THE PEACE. We are met to create a pattern for action to that end. It is proper, therefore, that we should indicate those basic principles to which we are all subscribed—that we should make clear the signposts of action which will mark the road we shall travel together.

Franklin Roosevelt looked to the future with confidence, seeing a world free from the scourge and terror of war for many generations. The Anglo-American-Soviet coalition he helped to shape has defeated fascism in battle. The peace he did not live to see is here. But already this war-racked generation is threatened with the scourge and terror of a third World War, preparation for which is well advanced.

The tree of liberty needs only the sunshine of peace to make it flower; it has been watered with enough blood.

The little group of willful men who conspire against the world's peace and the nation's security think not of freedom, though they take its name in vain. Their dreams are of empire and of world domination. They are the economic royalists, the "old enemies of peace" to whom Roosevelt gave battle more than once.

It is they who are sowing division among the victorious allies. They mount guard over the growing stockpile of atom bombs, seeking to keep atomic energy as the weapon of their private diplomacy and to bar its use in the service of mankind.

Their press beats the drums for war against the Soviet Union. Their Congressional spokesmen, on both sides of the aisle, urge that the United States renege on the commitments made at Yalta, Potsdam and Moscow.

These economic royalists are not without influence in high places. Unless they are soon curbed, they will sacrifice American democracy on the altar of their lust to rule the world, and lead the nation to suicidal war.

The people of the United States are sovereign in this land, and their will is firm for peace. President Roosevelt who led the nation to victory in the anti-fascist war, charted the road to just and enduring peace. His policy of Big Three Unity was and is the policy of the American people.

These, our principles, are a restatement of that policy for which our sons fought and died, to which our whole nation is pledged, and to whose practice the American people will win our government's assent.

A democratic American foreign policy can stop a third World War.

The friendship and unity of all the United Nations is the guarantee of peace.

The unity of the Big Three is paramount, and must be restored on the basis of the Yalta, Potsdam and Moscow agreements. Friendship with both the Soviet Union and Great Britain is vital to the American interest and indispensable to the effective working of the United Nations Organization.

War threatens wherever fascism remains. Its last vestige must be destroyed.

A Security Council which lives by the unity principle is the only trustworthy custodian of atomic energy and of every atom bomb.

The colonial peoples everywhere, and the new democracies of Europe, shall be permitted to exercise their right of self-government without outside interference.

American troops must be withdrawn from the United Nations and all friendly lands, that the peoples of those lands may achieve democracy and unity.

The disrupters of Big Three unity, the pro-fascists and the power-mad who are preparing a third World War must be driven from public life.

An American which pursues this democratic foreign policy, provides full employment, respects the rights of labor, gives first-class citizenship to the Negro, and outlaws anti-Semitism and all forms of race discrimination, will not covet the territory nor provoke the enmity of any other nation. It will have no need for a large standing army.

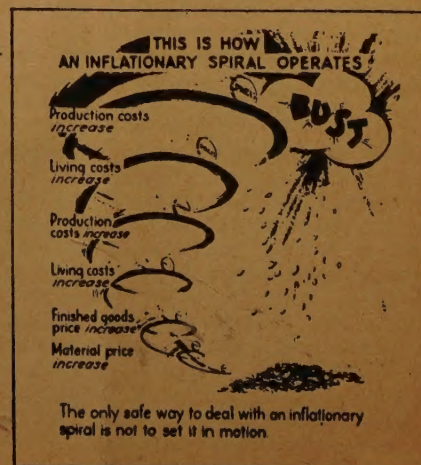
These are our principles. Our purpose is organized action to assure that they are put into practice. We call upon all Americans whose hearts are turned to peace—the working men and women, the veterans of World War II, the young sons who prepare for useful life in a nation at peace, the mothers and wives whose love is a force for peace—to join with us in common cause. Together we can and will prevent a third World War.

## The Choice Is Clear Now

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the way to life. Two hundred years ago, men gave political form to these beliefs, proclaiming as the first tenet of democracy that all men have equal right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. For two score years the psychiatrists have been demonstrating with increasing clarity that the vitamins of dignity and esteem, given children early in life, are necessary for the development of mature and sane personalities. They have affirmed and annotated Christ's teachings that love and growth and sanity are one. They have defined men's needs and mapped out ways for filling them. They have shown us some of the human wreckage that follows our failure to fill these needs. The physical scientists have evolved tools by which men, working together, can reach new levels of creative living or, working against each other, can destroy the bodies and the souls of victims and victors alike.

For two thousand years we have been running on borrowed time. The hour-glass is empty now. Self-deception is as obsolete today as Eugene Talmadge. White Supremacy, nationalism, exploitation, war, have all run their course. From now on, it is as true in the immediacy of physical fact as it has always been in the eternity of spiritual values, that whatever sets man against man sets man against life. The atomic bomb is the last crowing of the cock. The choice is clear. The time is now. Do we want segregation or brotherhood, life or death?





# temperance and healing (restricted)

In Lillian Smith's novel "Strange Fruit," there is a moving scene in which the Negro doctor, Sam Perry, appeals to his best friend, a white man by the name of Tom Harris, to help him stop a lynching.

"I'm no radical, addle-brained Red!" Harris cries out, "trying to turn a hundred years upside down in a minute." And Dr. Perry answers sadly: "It's been a long minute for the Negro."

American Methodism has led Protestantism in its attempts to shorten that long minute. Indeed, our reverend brethren met around the green tables at General Conference in 1944 and said:

"We stand for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life. . . ." (Sec. 1, Para. 2010, 1944 Discipline)

"We stand for the rights of racial groups, and insist that the above social, economic, and spiritual principles apply to all races alike." (Sec. 14)

Very fine, but did we mean it? Or was it just for the record? Let me refresh your memories on some recent history that probably has been commented on before in these pages.

The *Baltimore Afro-American* carried a red ink "Second Coming" headline across the front page of its Jan. 6, 1945 issue: "STORK LOSES RACE WITH JC." "JC," of course, meaning Jim Crow. It seemed that a young Negro girl by the name of Bernice Miller, unmarried but about to become a mother, had come on from Saluda, N. C., to stay with friends in Washington until her baby should be born. This event began to transpire somewhat earlier than had been expected, so, at 4 A.M. the girl was rushed to the nearest hospital which happened to be Sibley—a Methodist institution. There she was refused admission on the grounds that the hospital was for whites only. Such nonsense being incomprehensible to the stork, he accomplished his mission and left the girl and her baby lying on the sidewalk in front of the hospital. The temperature was around zero. The hospital authorities unbent to the extent of throwing her a sheet. A white cab driver came along, was asked to take the girl to Gallinger (Washington General) Hospital, saw that she was colored, and refused. She lay there on the icy pavement in front of this Christian(?) house of healing until a cab driver could be located who would drive her to Gallinger.

In the lobby of the hospital is a plaque, placed there by the Woman's Missionary Society. It reads:

THIS HOSPITAL IS DEDICATED TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND THE WELFARE OF ALL HUMANITY.

All humanity, that is, except that 3/4 of the human race that happens to be colored.

So, in the words of Stephen Vincent Benet,

"This is he.  
This is the man they ate at the green table,  
Putting their gloves on e'er they touched the meat."<sup>1</sup>

There's more, if you have stomach for more.

On Nov. 21, 1940, Dr. Lloyd F. Worley of the New York East Conference, a member of the Committee on the State of the Church of the 1940 General Conference, addressed the following polite letter to the Board of Temperance in Washington:

Dear Doctor Cherrington:

At your convenience would you be good enough to give me the facts on the following questions? Is it true that the eating place leased in the Methodist Building will not serve Negroes on an equal basis with white persons? If no provision was made to avoid such discrimination when the lease was made, when does the lease expire? Assuming that some provision

was made in the lease concerning the serving of alcoholic beverages, cannot a similar provision be made in order to avoid race discrimination?

Please be assured of my genuine interest and sympathy in a difficult problem of administration.

To this courteous and inoffensive request, no answer.

Another letter followed in a similar vein on May 22, and another on Jan. 1, 1942. The former was ignored, and the latter answered with a curt note stating that the Secretary of the Board would be glad to discuss the matter with Dr. Worley in New York. The discussion took place, but was brief and unsatisfactory. So Dr. Worley wrote again on April 13, 1942; Feb. 12, 1943; July 4, 1944, and Sept. 4, 1944. No reply was received to any of these letters. The only thing remotely resembling a reply was an editorial in "The Voice" in May, 1944, railing against "New York capital . . . (New York's) propaganda against the West and South . . . the Communist Party of New York . . . inimical to the country's moral standards . . . (New York) from which proceeds a foul stream of drunkenness, perversion, and abnormality."

No, that little polemic with its anti-semitic overtones did not appear in *Der Angriff* or the *Chicago Tribune*, but in an official organ of the Methodist Church. It is not only intemperate in language but untrue. New York City at that time under the administration of LaGuardia (a Protestant) was one of the cleanest cities in the world. Burlesque, bookies, gambling, slot machines, pornographic literature, prostitution, night clubs, and political carpet-bagging had all fallen under the rigidly-enforced interdict of the Little Flower. Indeed, the editors of "The Voice" would have found much more interesting slumming in the moral underworld in nearby Baltimore than in New York. And New York has a law against discrimination which would seem to put this center of immorality on a somewhat higher moral plane than certain Boards of the Methodist Church. One can only conclude that the editors of "The Voice" don't get around much. And to this writer, discrimination is more degrading than drunkenness.

What is the situation in regard to the cafeteria at 100 Maryland Ave., N.E.? The Board's refusal to answer questions on the matter leads to the inference that there is discrimination. This writer has investigated rather carefully, and has come to the conclusion that there is something a little less than that but something still far short of the Christian ideal. What there is apparently is not so much outright discrimination as a somewhat too-easy accommoda-

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<sup>1</sup> Litany for Dictatorships.



tion to the discriminatory environment of Washington. Negroes in the nation's capital know very well that there are only three places where they can eat with whites—the YMCA, Union Station, and the Government cafeterias. They don't try to eat in the Methodist Building, but if a Negro did come there with a white friend, or even alone, he might be served, albeit in cold and reproachful silence. In the words of a Bishop who is a member of the Board of Temperance: "There is no encouragement or invitation to colored people to come to the dining room. I do not know that we could urge them to take such a step."

Why not? Aren't we, through our General Conference pronouncements, our Crusades for a New World Order, etc., urging the whole world to take such a step? The YMCA, the Union Station, and the Government all insert clauses in the leases they make with restaurant men barring discrimination. There are no race riots in Government cafeterias, the Union Station lunch counters, or the YMCA. Why must a Church board accommodate itself to an un-Christian environment when a railroad station need not? Doesn't that make us look pretty silly?

"Have we the right to make a landlord pay for our convictions?" asks a Methodist editor, with reference to the argument that if Negroes use the cafeteria it will be necessary to open the whole building to them with a resultant drop in property value. We certainly have when "we" are the landlord and the "convictions" are not the fuddy-duddy eccentricities of the town character but basic and solemnly-expressed principles of the Christian faith. Or am I wrong in thinking that the building was bought and paid for by the ministers and laity of the Methodist Church? It is better to go to heaven poor but clean than to go to hell hanging on to a cafeteria.

Oh, these incidents themselves are not too important. They will be hushed up and soon forgotten. Only a handful of people are involved. I know very well that there are Boards and Commissions of the Methodist Church that do not treat the ministers of that church as their subjects. I know that if Miss Miller had come to Brooklyn instead of Washington and had been rushed to our fine Methodist Hospital here in the midst of this "foul stream," etc., she would have been taken in and cared for like a human being. I know that the Board of Temperance, aside from its appetite for intemperate language and within the rather narrow limits of its purpose and understanding, is doing a pretty good job and one that certainly needs doing.

However, I also know that the world will judge us, not by the many hospitals of ours that would have taken Miss Miller in without question, but by the one that would not. Sibley Hospital and the Methodist Building in Washington are unimportant except as symbols. But men are judged by symbols and their attitude towards symbols.

It is precisely at this point that the greatest weakness in Protestantism is laid bare—the terrible gap between profession and practice. Through this cancerous lesion our moral authority drips slowly away while a riven world watches and waits. The General Conference profession on Jim Crow is in the best tradition of Methodist zeal for righteousness, but the practice of Sibley Hospital and the Board of Temperance is definitive. As is our official silence in the face of such practice. We are judged as surely by what we leave undone as by what we do. The world will judge the church in this hour not by what its bishops proclaim (even when they proclaim it "the law of the church") but by what its boards and commissions do in the arena in which decisions are made.

Our "wiser heads" will say wait. These things take time. We agree with you—but let's not rush things. Wait.

So we will wait. But the world will not wait. We haven't got "time" anymore. This is an historic hour. Time has run out on us. We have got to stop thinking in terms of eternity and begin thinking in terms of time. The French nobility laughed at Rousseau's "Social Contract," but their skins went to bind the second edition. It is later, much later, than we think. Haven't we some

statesmen within Methodism who can look beyond Birmingham to Ulan Bator, beyond Kansas City to Kenya?

If we cannot get right on this matter of race, we will be ghosts in the burning city of the Twentieth Century. Then with us Steve Benet's synthetic rubber angel with the blind mask of Ares will not have much conversation except to say:

"You will not be saved by General Motors or the prefabricated house.

You will not be saved by dialectic materialism or the Lambeth Conference.

You will not be saved by Vitamin D or the expanding universe.

In fact, you will not be saved."<sup>2</sup>

For this is an hour of judgment. We misread it at mortal peril.

## Executive Secretary's Report

We have welcomed a new member into our office staff, James A. Moss: veteran with sensitive social conscience, wide grasp of the current social scene and enthusiastic zeal for the work and program of the Federation. He is putting his emphasis on promotional work, and we hope to see that marked growth in membership and support which we clearly need to meet the challenge of these uneasy and war-threatening days.

Are you an actionist who would welcome *and respond to* MFSS action letters containing timely action suggestions sent to you in addition to the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN? At your request (and on the assumption that you will accept the discipline of concrete action on important specific issues) we'll gladly add your name to our present action list of 450. This should grow quickly to 1,000 at least. Recent action letters sent from this office have concerned price control, atomic energy, the Rankin Committee and Franco Spain.

When these words are printed I shall be on a long West coast trip which will make possible fellowship with numerous Federation groups which I have not yet visited. This will take me away from the office for two months.

We can report with joy the organization on April 24th of the Central Pennsylvania Conference MFSS Chapter in a meeting initiated and convened by Dr. W. Emory Hartman. Officers were elected and the proposed conference chapter standards were accepted as an immediate chapter goal (at least 100 voting members with lay and youth, as well as ministerial, representation; at least two chapter meetings a year at which concrete social action is taken; democratic elections annually; and a regular correspondent with the national office). On the same day Alson Smith was representing us at the Wyoming Conference where he met with a group of socially minded folk interested in effective MFSS Chapter organization. On April 26th the Delaware Conference Chapter was organized on a very sound basis: officers elected, standards accepted and immediate action on F.E.P.C. endorsed. Jim Moss helped me in this organizing meeting which was called by D. S. Earl Crampton, who also made it possible for me to speak briefly to the entire Conference. On May 3rd it was my pleasure for the first time to visit and speak to one of Bishop Hartman's Conferences. The New Hampshire Conference Chapter was initiated and Dr. J. Kirkwood Craig elected as its leader until an all-Conference meeting in October. Here again the chapter standards were accepted as an immediate goal and a goodly number of new members joined on the spot. The same day Alson Smith and Dr. Charles E. Schofield spoke for the Federation at the Troy Conference Social Service Commission luncheon. Alson brought back confidence that a new Conference Chapter would be organized. On May 13th a meeting was held of the new New York East Conference Chapter, and a very practical down-to-earth membership drive was launched right there at the Conference.

<sup>2</sup> Nightmare with Angels.



In its March meeting our Executive Committee endorsed the Win the Peace Conference. Elsewhere in this issue is a report of this significant and timely Conference (April 5-7 in Washington) which I attended on behalf of the Federation.

On April 11 I had the opportunity of testifying before the Senate Education and Labor Committee on behalf of the National Health Act, and there is a report of that testimony elsewhere in this issue. On May 14th it was my privilege to represent the Federation's viewpoint on the important question of Franco Spain in an "American Forum of the Air" broadcast from Washington.

*What will you do during summer conferences to expand Federation membership and to strengthen the action programs of Conference and local chapters in your area. We look to you, all of you, for that aggressive job of social evangelism and building which is needed.*

## The National Health Act

(Testimony by the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, at the hearing on S. 1606 in Washington, D. C., April 11, 1946.)

Mr. Chairman:

It is with real gratitude that I accept this opportunity to present to this Committee the attitude of the Methodist Federation for Social Service on this important measure, S. 1606.

Our organization has long been dedicated to the realization of a program in America which would actually provide adequate medical care for all. From the beginning it has given earnest support to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill as a great step in the direction of the ideal of universal and adequate medical care. The members of the Methodist Federation for Social Service may be counted among those who are "doers of the Word and not hearers only." Our Federation members can be relied upon to back up the Congressional supporters of this bill not only in sentiment but in individual and corporate action.

The significant struggle today to make adequate medical care universally available to the people of this land reminds one of the historic battle in America in earlier days for free and universal education. It was once regarded as very radical indeed to advocate a system of universal and free education in this country. We now see such a system as an essential and inextricable root of our cherished American democracy. So in the future it will be with universal and freely available medical care. We are confident that the day is not distant when medical care will be universally available and when it will be as inevitably a part of a democratic America, even as we all have now come to regard universal and free education. It is quite true that there are always difficulties in bringing about great and significant social changes. Jesus with his keen psychological insight saw this quite well. Jesus said that "No man having drunk old wine desireth new: for he sayeth, the old is good." Jesus had spoken of his own task as that of introducing new wine—that is new attitudes and new ways of doing things. He fully understood and announced that he would meet opposition for his daring to propose changes. So it is today that we have those who are so accustomed to the old ways of dispensing medical care that they are congenitally opposed to proposals for needed change and improvement. This does not, however, apply to the great majority of the American people. Many public opinion polls have shown that the American people by a large majority support fundamental changes in this area and are deeply dissatisfied with the present situation as concerns the availability of medical care. This is even shown by the poll conducted for the National Physicians' Committee, which is so hostile to this bill. Nor is it by any means an all together novel idea that the Federal government should cooperate in a program to provide universal medical care. As a chaplain in the

recent war I paid many visits to the Marine Hospital in San Francisco, where merchant seamen for a long time have been granted complete and free medical care and hospitalization. It is unthinkable that this splendid system of universal medical care could ever be abolished, now that it has become so much a part of the world in which American merchant seamen live. It has been interesting to me to learn that such a system of universal and complete care for merchant seamen now administered by the United States Public Health Service and supported by social insurance and tax funds, has been in effect in America since 1798.

A goal of universal medical care has deep roots in our Biblical religious heritage. It is in keeping with that heritage that we worship a God described in the New Testament as "No respecter of persons" and as a loving Father whose will it is that not one of the least of the people should perish. It was in line with this universal concern of our religious heritage that our own Thomas Jefferson wrote into the original charter of our nation the declaration that all men were intended by God to enjoy life and the pursuit of happiness through equality of opportunity. Certainly this must include opportunity equitably distributed to be born properly and to enjoy needed medical care. Only a few months have passed since the close of the most costly war in mankind's history. Millions of people during that war were inspired by the promise of freedom from want. Certainly such a slogan can only be adequately interpreted after including freedom from disease. It is not surprising, therefore, that we see in many democratic lands today a determination that all of the people shall in the days ahead be enabled to receive needed medical care. We see this in England today. Some years ago in the early stages of Japan's wanton aggression upon China, I found this widespread determination among the Chinese people to develop in their land a true democracy which would include within its basic structure a program of universally available medical and hospital care. The eyes of the world are on the United States. Even as we led the world in providing a system of universal education, so we are challenged today to give similar world leadership by developing within our nation a system of adequate and universal medical care.

The widespread dissatisfaction in America with the situation, as pertains to the availability of medical care and the unanimous support which has come from our organization's membership, for example, for the basic principles of this bill, are rooted in the serious and tragic facts. It is simply and undeniably true that all of the medical needs of the American people are not today being met with anything like adequacy. The Selective Service figures are well known to the members of this Committee. They show that over 40 per cent of the Selectees were unfit from a medical point of view—that one-sixth of the defects were remediable and that many of them could have been prevented altogether had adequate medical care been available. As you know, the percentage of rejections was much higher in the South, from which I come. Under our present system those who need medical care most tend to get it the least, since those least able to pay are usually those most in need of that which they cannot afford. The serious need for the distribution of doctors and medical facilities is well known to all members of this Committee. The doctors have tended to establish themselves not on a basis of the extent of need for medical care, but on the basis of the extent of ability to pay for such care. Thus the low income areas have suffered. We learn that in 1944, 553 counties had less than one doctor per thirty-six people and that 81 counties had no functioning doctor at all! We learn further that 40 per cent of the counties have no general hospital and that a similar proportion have no full time public health officer. Fifteen per cent of all of the counties, we are told, have no prenatal or well baby clinics. These deprived counties tend to come from the low-income areas, the areas where the need for such facilities and clinics is



greatest. All of us are concerned about the children who are the hope for the future of our nation and world. We learn that 60 per cent of the children in our country live in areas where only 4 per cent of our pediatricians practice. We learn further that 31,000 babies die needlessly each year during their first year of life in our country and that 3,000 mothers die needlessly each year in childbirth. It is estimated that one-half of all maternal deaths and one-third of infant deaths are preventable. This Committee has had ample occasion also to consider the tremendous cost to our nation and its economy of the illness which could be prevented by a more universal and adequate system of medical care. We are told that among industrial workers six hundred million man days of production are lost each year as a result of illness and accidents. Much of this could be prevented. This Committee has considered the fact also that much of the poverty within American families springs from sickness and the cost of medical care. It is striking indeed that the surveys made of the famed "Hundred Neediest Cases" of the *New York Times* revealed that 85 per cent of these families are indigent because of illness and the cost of medical care.

The facts also seem to indicate very clearly that medical needs are not being met by the sum of the private or voluntary plans in existence in our country. Though there has been commendable progress in some of these plans, they still cover only a comparatively small percentage of the population and meet only a small proportion of the medical needs of those covered. Of those covered under the voluntary plans less than 4 per cent receive complete prepaid medical care. The Blue Cross has taken in a large proportion of the recipients of benefits under private plans. It is important to remember that the Blue Cross covers only the hospital bill during ordinary illness. But such hospital bills take only thirteen cents of the patient's medical dollar. The doctor's bill—which accounts for forty cents of the patient's dollar—is not covered by the Blue Cross plans. Nor do those plans cover dental care and preventive medicine—medical check-ups, etc. This latter point is most important since many a hospital bill would be altogether prevented through early enough medical attention. Most of the recipients of benefits under the various private plans participate in the so-called commercial plans. We need to remember that only 40 per cent of the money paid by the participants in these commercial plans come back to them in the form of benefits. The remaining 60 per cent go into the large company expenses and profits. The so-called medical social plans (another category of private plans) are also limited, both in coverage (less than 2 per cent of the population being covered by them in 1945) and in scope, usually covering only surgical care and obstetrical service after 10 months and usually excluding routine diagnosis, and periodic check-ups, home and office visits. Substantially more adequate coverage is found in the Kaiser Plan and in similar group practice plans. Nevertheless, all of the private or voluntary insurance plans put together do not begin to meet the vast need for medical and hospital care in our country. As we have seen the overwhelming proportion of the people are not covered by these plans. In general most of the medical and hospital needs are not provided. There are certainly many people who cannot afford to join these plans. Even if there is some dispute as to the validity of this last point, it cannot be denied that many people who need to join will not do so, but will prefer to gamble on the possibility that they will have no need for the benefits which the particular plan involved provides. This probably helps to explain the high turn-over of membership in private plans. The participants drop out at the end of a year in which they put money in but did not receive. The succeeding year might well be the year when their tragic illness or enforced hospitalization comes. This high turn-over may help explain the high promotional administrative costs of the private plans. It is apparent that, as in any insurance system, wider coverage would lead to reduced unit costs and it has also been contended

that these who tend to be most sickly are most eager to join these private plans. This may lead to high cost for participation in the plan or (on the other hand) may produce such rigid requirements as to keep out those most in need of the plan.

Nor can it be contended effectively that the medical and hospital needs of the uncovered masses of the American people are met by the generous and charitable practices of the doctors and hospitals. We are told, for example, that less than 7 per cent of the poorest rural families (those receiving less than \$500 per year) receive any free medical care during the year. Certainly this does not mean that they can afford \$100 per year which a family needs on the average for minimum medical care. Nor does it mean that these particularly impoverished American families are not visited by illness. It simply means that they go without the care which they clearly need.

We have pointed out that those areas in which we find greatest shortages of doctors and need for hospital facilities are precisely those areas where the greatest needs are found. This is not a matter of hearsay with me, since I am from such an area—from the deep and predominantly rural South. My grandfather was a doctor in central Georgia and my father was a doctor in South Georgia. The National Health Plan envisaged in S. 1606 would assure a decent annual income to doctors in impoverished areas. It would increase the number of doctors in these areas and make life less pressing and difficult for all of the doctors there. It would also bring a new medical era to the medically disadvantaged common people. We in the South have much to gain by the passage of this important National Health Act. But the South's gain would be the nation's. It is in these impoverished areas that the largest proportion of children are found and it is from these areas that people migrate in greatest numbers to other areas when they leave childhood and reach productive age. The whole nation stands to lose if we send out from impoverished areas men and women stunted and blighted by childhood disease which could have been prevented.

We have a solid basis, therefore, for our conviction that this committee's Health Sub-Committee is sound in its contention that only a national plan in which the federal government participates can make medical care universally available in the United States. We agree also, that only such a national plan can bring us substantial progress in eliminating those inequities as to medical care between low and high income areas in our country. Certainly the Federal government has a legitimate and inevitable concern in this matter. This would be so even if we were only thinking within the narrow terms of national defense, as the Selective Service rejections during the last war makes clear. It is a long established part of the framework of the American democratic government that public funds are expended by public agencies' responsive to the popular will.

We now consider the right to an education as a basic right of an American citizenship. We must come to consider the right to be born decently and to have adequate medical and hospital care ever available. S. 1606 is to be commended for the fact that it does not provide what social workers know as a "means" test. This is a great step towards the conception that decent medical care should be available to all not as a form of charity but as a basic right. We all know the psychological humiliation which often comes from the charitable approach to the dispensing of medical care. When Gene Talmadge was governor of Georgia, he attacked various federal government measures to expand social security. He took the position that these measures were inimical to the churches, who depended on the existence of human objects for their charity. According to this conception, the churches would have a stake in the preservation of poverty and injustice. But Mr. Talmadge, fortunately does not speak for the awakened churchmen of America who know that true religion is dedicated to abolition of preventable poverty and to the attainment of genuine justice.



We congratulate the authors and proponents of S. 1606 for helping us to progress towards an America in which medical care will be considered a matter of justice and not a matter merely of charity. We are concerned, however, by the fact that the bill as now written does not cover all of the population in the benefits which it makes available. We agree with the position of the United States Public Health Service that 100 per cent of the population ought to be covered. We fear that the proposal for a special category of "needy" cases may open the door to the kind of stigma which we are seeking to avoid. There may also be danger of the development of a double standard of medical care—a different standard for the so-called "needy."

The Bill is to be commended also for its conclusive approach to the medical needs which are to be met. This is very sound. As suggested above, in our analysis of the shortcomings of most private plans, a medical check-up which comes in time might well save a hospital bill. Thus we see that the inclusive approach of S. 1606 is economically as well as morally sound.

S. 1606 will increase the quality of medical care by freeing doctors to use laboratory and other techniques now neglected often because of cost. The quality of medical care receives an additional boon by the provisions encouraging research, basic medical training, and special graduate work. I remember how my own dad longed for and finally secured for himself periods of special post-graduate study. Nor does the Act remove the doctor's incentive. A patient can choose his doctor freely. He can also abandon that doctor if his work becomes unsatisfactory. Naturally, one who has been a chaplain appreciates the provision in the bill to give priority to grants-in-aid to servicemen seeking post graduate medical education. As a chaplain who worked largely with the unsung heroes of the merchant marine, however, I hope that the Act will be amended to include in its definition of "servicemen" those who served during the war in the United States Maritime Service or Merchant Marine.

Commendable also are provisions calling for maximum participation by local, state, and private agencies in the administration of the Act and provisions for Advisory Councils including representatives of the public as well as of the medical and other professions. We ministers welcome this opportunity for qualified clergymen who work intimately with individuals in a community to serve in their behalf on Advisory Councils. We urge that specific representation be given on these important Councils to Negro, Jewish and other religious and racial minority groups so as to assure to them an equitable role and share in the administration and benefits of the Act. We have been gratified by the interest recently shown by organized labor, not only in narrowly conceived trade union problems, but in public affairs and in health problems. We are confident that representatives of organized labor will also have a great contribution to make on those Advisory Councils.

Our primary concern is that the splendid medical and hospital benefits proposed in the Act be in fact universally and completely available to all Americans. We support the amendments proposed by Senator Pepper to Title I, Part B of the Act. We believe these amendments make more certain the universal availability of the special maternal and child health services involved by adding further clarifying details rooted in S. 1318. Human rights must come before "states" rights. The major task is to see that the people in all states receive the intended opportunity for adequate medical and hospital care. We join with Senator Pepper in questioning the requirement for financial contribution by the states, since we do not want the slightest possibility to remain that the people in any states be denied benefits which ought to be the right of all Americans. Senator Pepper applied this question specifically to Title I, Part B, which deals with maternal and child health services. We would apply the question also to Title I, Part A, dealing with "Grants to States for Public Health Services" and to Title I, Part C, dealing with "Grants to States for Medical

Care of Needy Persons." Our concern, we repeat, is that all Americans be covered; and we hope to see the elimination of all loop-holes by which the universality of coverage could be thwarted and by which the residence of some states could be denied the important benefits provided under Title I. Above all, we urge that S. 1606, strengthened by these needed amendments be passed—and passed at the earliest possible date.

**M.F.S.S. ACTION**—The National Health (Wagner-Murray-Dingell) Bill is still before Congress. Make certain that YOUR Congressmen and Senators know that you, as individuals or as a group, favor this legislation.

Recently a good woman whose husband was not a church-goer came to substitute for the organist in a Newark Conference church. The church's parish visitor, a tenacious saint of advanced years, got after the husband and urged him to join the church. "No," he said, "I know I'm a heathen and going to hell, but I'm satisfied."

The parish visitor thought for a minute. "Well," she said, "you can go just as easily from our church as any other. And I think we are much closer than most."

In a Lenten sermon to pastors, Pope Pius XII declared that it is the clergy's "right and duty" to take part in public life and urged pastors to instruct the people in the "moral duties arising from the electoral right." Also: "The separation of religion and life, the church and the world, is contrary to the Christian and Catholic idea."

At the recent session of the New York East Conference Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appointed two members of the conference as "Chaplains to Organized Labor." They are the Rev. Nelson H. Cruikshank, Social Insurance Analyst for the American Federation of Labor, and the Rev. Charles C. Webber, former Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, who will be State Director of the Virginia CIO-PAC.

This is the first time such appointments have been made by a Methodist Bishop and Conference.



Bishop in The St. Louis Star-Times  
Shutting Off His Iron Lung



## Rural Social Action

BY

ROGER ORTMAYER \*

### *Farmers and the O. P. A.*

According to the representations of the farm-bloc lobby in Congress and most newspaper publicity, agricultural groups are solidly lined up against extension of O.P.A. controls. As usual, the Washington pressure boys are spokesmen for the large landowners and factory-type farmers who are hardly motivated by consumer interests.

When farm members of the Ohio Farm Bureau Advisory Councils, one of the finest democratic agencies for adult education and opinion in the U. S., discussed the question they went on record as being opposed to any relaxation of price ceilings. According to Harry W. Culbreth, organization director of the Ohio Farm Bureau, at the 200 group sessions where the question was discussed during March the majority were in opposition to releasing price controls. "Generally, farmers want to be fair about the price situation. Of course, if any one group is favored by price increases for their products, farmers feel they deserve the same treatment. They know that if the price line is once broken, they stand to suffer as much as any other group—maybe more—from runaway inflation."

### *Heifers and Seeds*

Aldous Huxley maintains that if politicians were sincere in their desires for peace they would by-pass the insoluble problems of power by concentrating all their attention on "the one great problem which every member of the human race is concerned to solve. . . . *How are all men, women and children to get enough to eat?*"

"Without food there can be no peace." The Brethren Service is so convinced. A report of May 1 states that with 25,483 pounds of seeds sent to Dr. Burke in France, the 1946 seed project has been completed with a total of 69,972 pounds of seed routed to Portland, France, Italy, Greece and Holland. Another dramatic type of agricultural relief that helps people to help themselves is the Heifer Project which is also sponsored by the Brethren Service Committee with representation from the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Northern Baptists, Friends, Mennonites, Catholic Rural Life Association, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. One thousand two hundred and twenty-three heifers (average value about \$125) have been shipped to Belgium, France, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Mexico and Puerto Rico with another 350 heifers now arriving in France and a further shipment of 350 starting for Italy. An interesting exception has been made in the case of Greece—she has received 6 brown Swiss bulls.

The same agency, backed by a primarily rural denomination and given help by many others, has helped to clothe and feed people that they might have strength to help themselves. People from Belgium to Siam have received shipments from one processing center at New Windsor, Maryland. For instance, the summary of shipments from June 1944-March 1946 to Italy lists:

2,015 bales clothing and bedding (each bale—12½ lbs. clothing for each of 8 people)  
300 boxes shoes  
600 bags shoes  
700 100-lb. bags rice  
11 carloads corn  
12,133 bu. wheat  
15,000 lbs. dried milk  
262,445 lbs. food  
33 boxes seeds

\* The Rev. Roger Ortmayer, who will write this column regularly for the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, is a member of the faculty of Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.

Brethren Service Committee 1946 goals include (1) members of each church to double their garden crops, (2) churches to arrange increased God's-acre projects, and (3) every district make arrangements to put up this surplus in tin for hungry people abroad. They are also to encourage neighbors to increase garden crops and canning.

### *Sale for Relief*

A few people in Goshen, Indiana, got an idea. A flier (donated by The Farmer's Exchange) announced:

#### *Elkhart County*

#### SALE FOR RELIEF

All proceeds to go for rolled oats to Poland  
No Expenses—No Commission—No Profits

#### GOSHEN COMMUNITY SALE BARN

(Result?—Two carloads of rolled oats to Poland. That meant 20 pounds of oats for 26,000 families!)

### *Farm People and Labor Unions*

In the midst of the automobile and steel strikes a number of metropolitan dailies carried front-page stories which insisted that farm people were mad. So angry, that they too were going on strike. If labor union members would not work, neither would the farmers plant their fields nor market their produce and then where would the city idlers be with nothing to eat?

It would be difficult to find many followers for the "leaders" the large circulation daily papers saw fit to publicize. One group mentioned was the Farmers' Guild, but nothing was said about the fact that the Guild is an insignificant rag-tailed group of dissidents from the Farmers' Union. These malcontents made common cause with Father Coughlin and William Lemke in the abortive Union Party in 1936 and were repudiated by the Farmer's Union as such. The Guild has hardly local significance.

Nor was much publicity given to the collection taken by the Topeka convention of the Farmers' Union when about \$2,000 was spontaneously given for relief of the families of General Motors workers who were out on strike. Another indication of cordial relationships among the grass roots representatives of farmer and labor groups is the repeated invitations extended to Orville Jones, C.I.O. Public Relations Representative, by Ohio Farm Bureau Advisory and County Councils.

### *Building and Materials*

When construction of the new Methodist Church at Lamar, Missouri, was being stymied by lack of sufficient two-by-sixes, a telegram was dispatched to a hometown boy in Washington, President Truman. A priority for the necessary lumber let the work continue.

The Reverend Paul Mekkelson, pastor of mountainous Georgetown, California, Methodist charge, recently called off his Sunday worship service, grasped the handle of an axe, and led his congregation in building a new home for a burned-out family in the community. A lumber yard donated two-by-fours and other materials, other merchants gave nails and miscellaneous building necessities, some hauled in logs and shaped them, many pounded nails, the W.S.C.S. served eats, and the unfortunate family found themselves in a new home.

The "Movie of the Month" review will be found on page 89.

On page 91 will be found a "Play of the Month" review of "On Whitman Avenue." We cannot promise you a play review each month, for play tickets cost in the neighborhood of \$3.60 each in New York. And, while the Federation finances will generally stand the expenditure of .60 for a movie, we aren't so sure about the play price!



# Migrants are Humane

REV. GEORGE BURCHAM \*

The war brought an unusual opportunity to the migrant and seasonal workers. For the first time in many years they were able to get their heads above the slough of despondency created by their miserable and inescapable cycle of existence. Mrs. N., shopping in the best store in town, appears as one of the best people. Daughters have good employment, dress well and are fine looking girls. The boys in the military have made a good record.

Likewise, the folks who went to the war industry centers had an unusual opportunity. They found war housing, while flimsy and impermanent, so much better than they were used to that they thought they had real good houses. They were able to make more money in a month than they had made in a year of fruit tramping and cotton picking.

Mrs. N. and many like her who have strong religious interests and high moral standards have used their new wealth wisely. Others did not. From the report of a minister among migrants, who moved with them into a war boom town, out of twelve families which he had met in farm camps in previous years, seven were now purchasing land with their new wealth; three were paying off back debts; two were squandering their money. This sounds very good, though the proportion seems too high, for an average.

Many folks tried war work and came back to the land, saying that "living was too high in the city." Deep within them, they did not feel at home in the city and in industrialized, mechanized work. The pull of the land was too strong for them to resist.

Of those who have stayed on with farm work, the better ones have had steady work as hired hands on one ranch, and so have become stable members of a community. Those with little ability or initiative are still drifting. The government camps for seasonal workers have been half filled all during the war. These folks have had work. Many of them abused the fact and worked only when they felt like it, or left a job in the middle of the day or showed up drunk. They demanded high wages and gave poor returns. Naturally the farmers became frothy, swearing that as soon as the war was over and more workers were available they would "make those suckers work and like it."

That is now happening. Folks who demanded \$1.25 an hour are accepting 80¢ without much fuss. Better workers are appearing and the farm work is getting done with more efficiency.

The war brought other changes that are interesting. Briefly stated they are:

1. The importation of Mexican nationals. Before any shortage of workers actually appeared, the large farm interests began a concerted effort to keep a large supply of workers on hand. While negotiations for Mexicans were going on, extreme pressure was put on town and city folks to get out and harvest the crops. One school teacher, who picked cotton after school hours and on Saturday, reported asking if the farmers' wives were picking cotton. When she found out they were not, she pulled a one woman strike. But the school continued to keep charts of how many hours and how much cotton each child picked.

When the Mexicans arrived the pressure on town folks ceased. But tensions between U. S. Americans and Mexicans immediately began. Actually at that time there was no real shortage of labor, in spite of the loud talk by newspapers and radio. Later there were certain shortages, but the crops have always been harvested on time and with as little waste as usual.

The Mexicans served the farmers well. They were docile, were kept strictly as farm workers, and given many privileges that were never given to native U. S. Americans. And, most important, they kept the wage level down to 80¢ or under, with certain exceptions.

2. The government camps, commonly known as migrants' camps, but officially named, Farm Workers Community, and which were under the direction of the Farm Security Administration, one of the few government agencies that really understood the problem and had a definite program, were shifted first to the War Food Administration and later to the Bureau of Labor in the Department of Agriculture. Under the WFA the name of the camps were changed to the revealing title of Labor Supply Centers. No community work has been allowed under the latter two administrations. The camps have been simply housing for workers. Most of the former young men who were managers of the camps were taken by the military. The men who replaced them with rare exceptions have not attempted to rehabilitate or help the people over whom they are placed. A few of the old managers have held on in spite of opposition, doing a minimum of community work, hoping for the day when they could again serve the interests of the migrant folks.

3. A more recent tension has resulted with the return of the Japanese-American folks. Many of these lost their farms completely. Others who had purchased land, even though alien, in the name of a son or daughter, are now being hauled into court with good prospects of losing title to land they have developed for many years. This means that there are a number of these folks available as farm workers. The large farmers in particular prefer to hire them, as they are excellent workers, need no supervision or instruction, work the sun around and appear on the job each morning. The native U. S. American resents this preference given to a so-called enemy.

This tension will be relieved in a short time, however, as the Japanese-Americans have never been migrant workers or hired hands for long. Very soon they will find land and settle down. Then the tensions will arise on the other side for then they become again competitors with native white farmers, and the forces that caused their evacuation will again start agitation to put obstacles in their way.

Today, the government camps are full to overflowing even in places where there is no crop to be picked. The prospects are that there will again be a surplus of workers, a low wage and a high cost of living. This will lead to difficulties. Boys back from the military do not intend to go back to cropping if they can help it. They may be forced to by circumstances. If they are, they are a potential source of labor organization such as the Associated Farmers have not had to face as yet.

During the war, the churches of the old line denominations largely ignored the migrant. Some attempts were made to follow the workers into war industry centers. A few of the churches made real efforts to reach the newcomers in their areas. Several special projects in San Francisco were started.

But the significant development has been among the churches that came with the Southwest migrants many years ago. The Nazarene group, once an offshoot of Methodism, has attained considerable dignity and unity. They follow a Methodist system, have built new, fairly large churches, have set standards for men entering the ministry, and also for women who are allowed to preach. This is happening also with some of the pentacostal groups.

These latter groups have flourished largely in the rural areas. Church work in the war towns and cities has been a heartbreaking job for both old and new groups.

The need for religious workers among these migrating folks is as great as ever. But the work done must not serve only to minister to the superficial spiritual needs of the people. It too often amounts to mere morale boosting with no attempt to change the conditions that cause migration and cropping and an apostalystic religion. It may be fine to help a fellow who is down and out to tighten

(Continued on page 92)

\* The Rev. George Burcham is pastor of the Methodist Church at Modesto, California.



# Social Issues in Today's World

## The General Welfare

**THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS**, which has just spent \$395,000 in an advertising campaign aimed at getting rid of OPA controls, has a rival now in the newly-organized New Council of American Business (NCAB) which has established offices in Washington, D. C.

The NCAB, which is composed of liberal and progressive businessmen, will run full page advertisements supporting the OPA in newspapers in Washington, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

The new organization stands for enforcement of the anti-trust laws; progressive reduction of tariffs; no change in collective bargaining; a 65¢ minimum wage; higher unemployment pay; a permanent fair employment practices committee; governmental development of the nation's natural resources, with more TVA's; and widening of social security to bring more people under its protection.

Pitching into NAM for its fight against price control, NCAB has written to every senator, saying "independent businessmen are fearful of the constant misrepresentation of their views by such bodies as the NAM".

NCAB wants OPA continued intact.

**CONSUMER EXPENDITURES FOR ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES.** The Department of Commerce issued recently its annual estimate of consumer expenditure for alcoholic beverages. The American people made outlays of \$7,800,000,000 for alcoholic beverages in 1945. More than \$3,000,000,000 of this amount was returned to federal, state, and local governments in the form of taxes, federal taxes alone amounting to \$2,400,000,000.

Consumption of distilled spirits in 1945, in volume, was 14 per cent above 1944, about equal to that of 1942. Volume of wine consumed increased over 10 per cent in 1945 over 1944. The quantity of beer consumed in 1945 was only slightly above that of 1944.

For some years, consumer expenditures for alcoholic beverages have been around 4 or 5 per cent of the total income of all the people.

## Labor Concern

**HEARST COUGHS UP.** The National Maritime Union recently received a check for \$10,000 from the Hearst Corporation as an out-of-court settlement which climaxed the union's six-year libel suit against Walter Winchell, the Hearst press, and the Jergens Company for statements defaming the NMU and its members. The \$10,000 Hearst check brings the total damages won by the union in its libel action to \$19,000, the largest sum ever collected by a trade union in this country. Last June, the Jergens Company, sponsor of Winchell's broadcasts, settled for \$9,000.

The suit was filed following a broadcast by Winchell in 1940 and subsequent publication in Hearst's New York *Daily Mirror* of baseless allegations that the NMU and its members were engaged in subversive fifth column activities and were sabotaging American vessels.

The case had appeared on the Supreme Court calendar for trial several times.

**EVEN CHURCHES.** You don't ordinarily think of the CIO as organizing churches. But that, in a way, is what happened in Port Neches, Texas.

Three churches have been organized in CIO Oil Workers' Local 288 hall, reported L. L. Crane, oil worker delegate to the Southwestern CIO Education Conference last week.

As one church grew in size and finally erected its own

building, another new group would come along, using the union hall on Sundays.

"The minister of the third group," Crane said, "saw a CIO-PAC receipt book lying on the desk."

"Say, I need one of those receipts," said the minister. "Here's my buck for PAC."

**UNION BATTER UP!** That cry may be ringing out over baseball diamonds when the newly organized American Baseball Guild (unaffiliated) reaches first base in its drive to organize all professional baseball players.

Robert Murphy, labor relations director of the Guild which opened headquarters in Boston on April 17, said the union had been signing up players in the spring training camps and already had substantial membership in 10 major league clubs. Several big-name players were working as Guild organizers, he said.

The Guild leader, a former NLRB examiner and onetime Harvard athlete, said that the aims of the union were: freedom of contract so a player will not be forced to join a particular club against his will; players sold or traded shall receive a percentage of the purchase price; collective bargaining on wages and other disputes; provisions for insurance, bonuses and other forms of security.

**WORLD LABOR ASKS UN TO ACT ON FRANCO.** In a cable to United Nations General Secretary Trygve Lie, the World Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to the UN Security Council to "condemn Franco's regime and to take all appropriate measures capable of wiping out this last vestige of fascism."

The cable, signed by WFTU General Secretary Louis Sallant, recalled the resolutions adopted at the London and Paris conferences of the WFTU demanding that all democratic governments break relations with Franco Spain. It further cited world labor's protests against Franco's execution of Spanish Republicans and reminded the UN that:

"The survival of a fascist dictatorship contradicts the people's rights solemnly affirmed by the UN charter; that one of the fundamental liberties of democratic countries is the right to freely organize and manage labor unions; that such an essential right is denied the Spanish workers by Franco's regime, which jails, exiles or murders the best UGT (General Workers' Union) and CNT (National Federation of Labor) leaders who remained in Spain while most of their comrades have been forced to live in exile for seven years."

## Cooperatives

**SWEDISH CO-OPS LIKE CO-OP OIL.** Swedish cooperatives, which have been ordering petroleum products from Consumer's Cooperative Association since the war, sent a cablegram April 13 asking that nearly 12,000 gallons of various weights of oil be shipped to Stockholm between May 20-25 to the order of Sveriges Oljekonsumenters Riksförbund (SOR), the petroleum federation established there last March by five large-scale cooperatives. The order, which will be filled at the co-op "lube" oil refinery in Coffeyville, Kans., will be transported overseas on the motor tanker Securus.

## Race Relations

**NEGRO HEAD OK'D FOR VIRGIN ISLANDS.** The Senate subcommittee on insular affairs has approved the nomination of Judge William H. Hastie, dean of the Howard University law school, as Governor of the Virgin Islands.



A "VOLUNTEER FOR INTERRACIAL ACTION" campaign is being held in Chicago from June 17 to August 17 under the sponsorship of the National Congress of Racial Equality.

There is no age limit. The project will be a training ground for leadership in the non-violent direct action method of overcoming racial injustice. Those who participate will live in the South Side section of Chicago. The approximate cost will be \$137.60 for the summer, or \$17.20 per week. Some scholarships are available.

Those interested may send for an application blank to the Congress of Racial Equity, 18500 East 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

**NEGRO NAMED VISITING PROFESSOR AT N.Y.U.**  
Dr. Ira De A Reid, chairman of the department of sociology at Atlanta University, has been appointed the first Visiting Professor of Negro Culture and Education at the New York University School of Education.

This marks the first time a Negro has been appointed to a full-time professorship at the institution, according to Dr. Ernest O. Melby, dean of the School of Education.

Dr. Reid, first incumbent of a visiting professorship established for a three-year experimental period under a grant of the General Education Board, has received a one-year leave of absence from Atlanta University.

## The Federation Mailbag

Portland, Oregon

Dear Sirs:

Our committee thought you would be interested in hearing that the Federation is taking the initiative in an attempt to secure an F.E.P.C. for Oregon through legislative action. I am enclosing a copy of the letter which we sent to legislative candidates in the state, also a news clipping from the Oregonian, Monday, April 22, 1946. The proposal mentioned in the article as having been approved by the Portland Methodist Ministerial Association has also met with full approval from the Portland District Methodist Young Adults, who, in addition, voted to make use of the Federation's survey of candidates.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Grace E. Jenkins, Chairman  
Special Commission on Legislation  
Meth. Federation For Social Service

Wellesley, Massachusetts

To the Editor:

The Wellesley School of Community Affairs is again being held in 1946. Its theme again is cultural differences in American life; its method a rather unusual combination of group work, educational anthropology, and a variety of specialized techniques including the sociodrama. The dates of the school are July 8 to August 16.

We believe that your members or readers would be especially interested in the aims and approach of the Wellesley School of Community Affairs, and hope that you will find it possible to describe the school in a spring issue of your publication or in a regular communication to your members.

Some scholarships for the school, covering tuition, board and room, or transportation, will be available to persons recommended by organizations or to individuals. It is our belief that the experience of the school may be most valuable to "teams" of two or more persons from the same organization or community, and we hope to have a number of such teams in attendance at each of the three sections of the school.

May we have a copy of any publication or release which may contain a notice of the school? Your cooperation will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,  
Charles E. Hendry, Director

Newmarket, N. H.

Brethren:

Keep up the good work you are doing. God grant that the Church will soon have courage enough to give its Federation For Social Service the "official" status that it deserves.

Fraternally,

Guy Allen

P.S. My present church is a federation of Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists. I call our "denomination" "Communitarian" inasmuch as we are a community church.

Garnersville, New York

Dear Sirs:

As a member of the Federation who has all through his ministry been deeply concerned about Social Justice—especially to the tenant farmers and the farmer who *theoretically* owns his farm but really pays tribute to the limit to an absolute creditor. I think the real problem is to get renters and interest slaves together and then "The Voice of the Future" will be the voice of agriculture.

Sincerely,

Otis Moore

TELEGRAM

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

MINNEAPOLIS WAREHOUSE MANAGER SAYS HE HAS FIFTEEN CARLOADS K RATIONS ON HAND TWO YEARS AND THERE IS TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OTHER WAREHOUSES STOP WHY CAN'T THIS BE MADE AVAILABLE TO MEET STARVATION PROBLEM?

George Mecklenburg  
Wesley Church

## MOVIE OF THE MONTH

**HYMN OF THE NATIONS:** Here is a short feature which is different and extremely worthwhile. It features the incomparable Arturo Toscanini and the NBC Symphony orchestra playing Verdi's Overture to La Forza del Destino, and a medley which he calls the "Hymn of the Nations." This latter consists of the French, English and American national anthems plus the Internationale.

The direction and the music are flawless, and the close-ups of the maestro's intelligent, sensitive face both at work and at rest lend a warmly personal touch to the picture which is further enhanced by the realization that Toscanini is one of the authentic great artists of our time as well as one of the world's most formidable anti-fascists.

The picture, with its intimate glimpses of Toscanini's life, is particularly significant in view of the maestro's return to conduct the orchestra at La Scala in Milan. It was from La Scala that he went into his long anti-fascist exile many years ago.

"Hymn of the Nations," now released in this country through Mayer-Burstein, was made by the OWI Overseas Division in 1943 for European distribution, and was shown throughout the continent in the wake of the liberating armies.

Would all our war-time propaganda had been as intelligent and effective as this!

A. J. S.



"But I do preach Bible sermons. Has she forgotten that series on the Tertian emendations of Paul's epistles?"



# Federation Activities and Reports

**ERIE CONFERENCE.** Meeting at Allegheny College in the Faculty Room of historic Bentley Hall, the Erie Conference Federation for Social Service held their annual Spring Conference on Monday, April 29, 1946. The sessions were in general charge of Charles Aldrich and Arthur Crawford, ministers of First Methodist Church of North East and Asbury Methodist Church of Erie, respectively. Morning Devotions were led by Rev. Frank McKnight of the First Methodist Church of Franklin, Pa. For one hour and a half Rev. Russell R. Bletzer, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Erie, Pa., and member of the Religious Associates of the P.A.C., led the morning's discussion on "The Church and Labor" which proved to be very stimulating.

After luncheon at the Lafayette Hotel, Rev. Macklyn E. Lindstrom, minister of the Cascade Methodist Church of Erie and President of the Erie Conference Federation, conducted the business meeting. Rev. Owen Shields, minister of the Croton Avenue Methodist Church of New Castle, Pa., and Secretary of the Federation, read the minutes of the last meeting. An item of new business included action to the effect that the committee for the Social Service Report, Frank McKnight, Tom Morris and Owen Shields, should be instructed to state the principles of the Federation for Social Service and to recommend the creation in Erie Conference of a Standard Chapter of the national body, stapling to the mimeographed report a subscription card for use of each member present at the Conference session. The Membership Committee, Wayne Furman, Chairman, was instructed to draw up a plan of personal contact of all the ministers of the Conference.

Dr. Worth M. Tippy, Executive Secretary of the Erie Council of Churches and First Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service in 1908, led the afternoon's discussion period on the subject, "The Church and World Government", strongly recommending congregational seminar groups which should keep the constituency fully informed on the thrilling events and significances of our critical times.

Bruce L. Middaugh, chairman of the Social Action Committee, made the following report, which was adopted:

"We, the members of the Federation for Social Service of the Erie Conference of The Methodist Church, in midyear meeting at Meadville on April 29, 1946, declare our deep concern over the need for distribution of food in war-torn and famine-stricken areas of the world. We commend President Truman for his appeal to the people of the United States on behalf of a hungry world. We recommend to Christian churches and people whole-hearted cooperation in every possible effort to relieve the present plight of the stricken peoples.

Specifically, we urge

1. Voluntary reduction of our own individual consumption of vital foods, and elimination of waste.
2. Immediate restoration of food rationing in the United States.
3. Drastic requisitioning of necessary supplies for overseas shipment.
4. Discontinuance of the use of grains in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages.
5. Continuation and strengthening of OPA, to avoid ruinous inflation.

We direct that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, our representatives in Congress, Director F. H. LaGuardia of UNRRA, and the press."

Warren A. Bugbee, minister of Mahoning Methodist Church of New Castle, Pa., concluded the day's meeting with closing devotions.

**TROY CONFERENCE.** At an annual conference luncheon meeting attended by more than one hundred delegates and their wives, the Committee on Social Education of the Troy Annual Conference was authorized to set up a Troy Conference Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. This took place on May 3. More than twenty new members were signed up for the Federation at this meeting. The Rev. Harold Buckland of St. Johnsbury, Vt., was chairman, and the speaker was the Rev. Alson J. Smith of New York, editor of the Federation's SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN.

**WYOMING CONFERENCE.** On April 23rd the Wyoming Annual Conference Social Service Commission sponsored a luncheon meeting at All Souls Episcopal Church, Johnson City, N. Y. About 75 were in attendance. The speakers were the Rev. George Hauser of the Colorado Conference and the Rev. Alson J. Smith, of New York. The Rev. Wheaton Webb of Binghamton was chairman of the meeting, which instructed the Social Service Commission to set up a Conference Chapter of the MFSS.

**NEW YORK EAST CONFERENCE.** At its session in Brooklyn May 14-16, the New York East Annual Conference became the second conference in Methodism to have a standard conference chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

Under the temporary chairmanship of Dr. Loyd F. Worley of Stamford, Conn., an organizing committee signed up more than the 100 members required for a standard conference chapter. A luncheon was held on May 16 and the following permanent officers were elected: President Rev. Paul DuBois of Bristol, Conn.; Vice President, Rev. J. G. Butler of Hartford, Conn., and W. W. Reid, Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. Lewis Davis of Torrington, Conn.; Executive Committeeman, Rev. Alson J. Smith, New York.

**NEW YORK CITY.** A New York City local chapter of the Federation was organized on May 20th at a meeting at 156 Fifth Avenue. Professor Clyde Miller of Columbia University set up the meeting and acted as chairman. The Rev. Alson J. Smith was elected President; the Rev. Wayne White, the Rev. Edward MacGowan and the Rev. Samuel Sweeney, vice-presidents; Miss Ruth Troland, Secretary; Miss Florence Burnett Treasurer, and Prof. Clyde Miller, Chairman of the Publicity Committee.

Another meeting was called for June 3rd, when the group will meet for dinner at Sloane House and be addressed by Prof. Clyde Miller and the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary of the Federation.



"Mr. Bowles reports that the O. P. A. cannot place a ceiling time on sermons. But in a footnote he expresses sympathy with our problem."



## Books and Pamphlets

**Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith, a Report of the Commission on the Relation of the Church to the War in the Light of the Christian Faith, Appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.**

This pamphlet is the voice of one crying in the wilderness. It assumes that the nations, faced with the choice of giving up power politics or destroying themselves in atomic warfare, will choose the way of world organization and peace. The available evidence indicates that they will do no such thing.

There is a strange dichotomy in the mind of mankind. On the one hand, the coming of the bomb was a mental shock bringing almost neurotic fear responses to the masses. On the other hand, the leaders of the nations seem caught in the groove of past events and thinking. The world has to start over, or perish. But the world can't start over. Not even the threat of utter destruction can, so it seems, make an end to the dance of death of power politics.

It is not inconceivable that the "conscience" of mankind could succeed in outlawing the use of atom bombs, as was done with poison gas, the fear of reprisals making such an act of piety palatable to even the military mind. Then the nations would be free to seek their ends by more "civilized" means of ghastliness and death. In any case, it is likely that the threat of the bomb will result in increasing signs of neurosis in mankind, rather than in signs of conversion to peacefulness and light.

This does not, of course, release the church from the necessity of pointing the better way, as this report splendidly does. One of its opening commands is eternally true: "A major task of the church (is) . . . to demonstrate courageous fear of God . . . in place of either complacency or panic before the awful energies now accessible for human use." In dwelling upon the crisis facing our civilization, a crisis of man-against-himself made more acute by the discovery of the bomb, and in calling for an act of contrition and a new beginning, the report is fulfilling the historical function of the church.

The essence of the thinking of the committee can be quickly summarized: the only mode of control of the destructive forces now in our hands that holds much promise is the control directed to the prevention of war. Therefore, our government should stop the manufacture of bombs, and announce, with guarantees, that we will under no circumstances be the first to use atomic weapons in any future war. We should put our hope and best efforts in the UN. Ultimate control of atomic energy should be kept in civilian hands, and international control provided so that it may be used for mankind's welfare, not warfare. (The April issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists really gets down to cases at this point.)

Put so simply, this seems like a something-less-than-drastic cure for the world's atomic ills, but it actually involves nothing short of a complete political conversion of mankind. "Build up the UN, and the body of international law, and put away from you all thoughts of force, particularly atomic," it says. Let us pray, and pray devoutly, that this sort of spiritual world community may grow fast enough to save us before something slips and the major cities of the world are reduced to rubble and green glass.

There are potential headlines in the closing pages of the report, calling for the rebuilding of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as an act of repentance, and declaring against measures "designed to cripple former enemies." Is the fact that this reviewer didn't see the headlines due to his careless newspaper reading habits, or to the fact that the press department of the Federal Council is something less than sensational? Or, perhaps, to the fact that, sane and thorough as it is, our commission does not show the same all-out willingness to get in and battle to put over its case that the statements of the Chicago group of atomic scientists show, for example? How can such pronouncements as this be made to bite deeper into the consciousness of America?

WILLIAM G. LAW

McMahon, Francis E.: *A Catholic Looks at the World*. Vanguard Press, 1946. \$2.75.

Francis E. McMahon is the professor of philosophy who was forced out of Notre Dame because he was "too liberal" for

that institution. He was immediately taken under the motherly wing of the University of Chicago and the liberal press, pleased and surprised at discovering a prominent Catholic layman who was not afraid to differ with the reactionary American hierarchy, practically canonized him. He became, in fact, a columnist for the ultra-liberal *New York Post*.

This book makes it obvious that the canonization was premature. McMahon's social philosophy is liberal only because it is set against the ebony back-drop of official and unofficial Catholic reaction. Actually, McMahon is a middle of the roader politically and socially, and his basic philosophy is orthodox enough to satisfy even Torquemada.

McMahon did depart from the semi-official Vatican party line in opposing Nazism, Coughlinism, Christian Frontism, anti-Semitism and the like, and he was an interventionist before Pearl Harbor. He even has a kind word for England. He is genuinely in favor of democracy, American style, and is considerably more tolerant of Protestants, Socialists, and other heretics than most of his co-religionists. And he is not blind to the many failures and weaknesses of his church.

All this in a Catholic professor of philosophy is indeed unusual, even striking. But not by any means does it raise McMahon to the stature of a G. Bromley Oxnam, a Reinhold Niebuhr, or a Jacques Maritain (whom he obviously admires) as a Christian liberal thinker.

McMahon is not above "recalling" the "nuns crucified on the streets" and the "priests slaughtered by the thousands" in discussing the Spanish Civil War (but he doesn't like Franco either). He denounces the late Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., for his liberalism, which, says McMahon, was really little more than an arrogant secularism. And he has nought but scorn for Harold Laski.

Politically, McMahon would seem to be somewhere in the vicinity of Senator Wagner. Theologically, he is snuggled up close to Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen.

For readability, the professor's paper rates about a B.

A. J. S.

### A Fact Book on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's address, "Religions Freedom in a Democracy," delivered at an ecumenical service in Phillips Brooks' old Trinity Church pulpit, Boston, has created such nation-wide interest on the part of newspaper and magazine editors, radio commentators and writers of letters-to-the-editor that, in response to demand, it has been printed and is now available at cost. Such magazines as *Time* and *The Nation*, among others, have commented upon it and the Roman Catholic papers have offered their rebuttal.

Dr. Frank Jennings, executive secretary of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, under whose auspices Bishop Oxnam spoke, urges widespread reading of this address as being "helpful in clarifying important issues with reference to Protestant-Roman Catholic relations in this country." Those who heard the address, he said, "appreciated the broad and fraternal spirit in which it was delivered and felt that its forthrightness, based on documented evidence, is needed just at this time."

The booklet, offered at cost, may be ordered from the Bishop's Office, 150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, for 10¢ a copy (\$2 for 25; \$7.50 for 100).

### PLAY OF THE MONTH

On Whitman Avenue. Presented by Canada Lee and Mark Marvin. By Maxine Wood.

*On Whitman Avenue* is a forceful provocative play which deals with the reactions of white neighbors to a Negro family's occupancy of an apartment in their middle-class, formerly placid community. While her family is away, Toni Tilden who has many progressive ideas derived to a small extent from her father but largely from college, finds a Negro veteran's family in acute need of housing. David Bennett, the veteran, was a friend of Toni's fiancée in the Army, and Toni feels that the Bennetts would make fine tenants for an apartment which is vacant in the Tilden house and which her family has commissioned her to rent. Because her father has always professed to be a liberal, Toni expects him to back her, and because she believes in the triumph of reason and the Bennetts are such fine people, she really expects the neighborhood to become converted to the new tenants.

As soon as the Bennetts move in, the neighborhood starts seeing things; and when the Tildens return, a delegation soon calls upon them to demand their immediate removal. Miss Wood



has provided some excellent characterizations of the members of the community. Mr. Lund, representative of the real estate company, completely ignorant of any tradition of American democracy, outraged at the insult to his white superiority—Mrs. Lund, not given to thinking, who repeats over and over in stereotyped fashion, “I don’t want my boy to play with n—s,”—and their unfortunate son who reflects their attitudes viciously—are people whom we all have met.

Hida Vaughn gives a delightful performance as the old maid who lives next door, comes to know the Bennetts, and, accepting them as people, as she would any other neighbors, becomes very friendly with them.

The Bennett family, consisting of the grandfather, Mrs. Bennett, David and a younger boy, and David’s wife, are all very believable characters. Perhaps Miss Wood has leaned a little too heavily on abnormal psychology by adding to David’s war damages, fits of melancholia in his pregnant wife. This seems superfluous although it is just mentioned casually and doesn’t play any important part in the play.

Ernestine Barrier has the tragic role of Mrs. Tilden who, unable to go along in the liberal stand of her daughter and husband, finds her whole family life tumbling in irretrievable ruin.

Will Geer does an excellent job of portraying the liberal Father torn between ideals of liberalism and the pressure of his wife and the real estate company. Canada Lee portrays convincingly the Negro veteran still suffering from the psychological effects of the war, who is further wracked by discrimination he constantly meets in civilian life. Perry Wilson plays the progressive daughter with a real feeling for the impassioned idealistic stand for justice which she makes.

This is a terribly real play. It could take place any moment in most of the neighborhoods we know. This is a strike against it commercially for many of the theater-going audience will not like to see their own prejudices so condemnably depicted, but it may push a lot of the middle-of-the-roads to a more positive stand on real equality of opportunity in housing as well as elsewhere for all races. This play cannot look to Hollywood for support, and it’s up to all the people interested in its message to rally ’round and keep it going.

DOROTHY MCMICHAEL

### To Bulletin Members

If you like the Bulletin and are in favor of the work of the Federation, why not become a full voting member? Or, if you just happened to see this copy of the Bulletin and are not even a Bulletin member, why not become one? It won’t hurt a bit! (And it’ll help us a lot.)

Just fill out the membership blank below and send it on to us, with or without check. We’ll bill you if you prefer.

## Migrants Are Humane

(Continued from page 87)

his belt and keep his chin out and up, but the church must also help him to achieve permanent rehabilitation.

Most of the religious work in the past has been of the morale boosting type or the straight conversion type. Religious workers who challenged the whole system of agriculture did not remain long in favor in the farm areas or with the church and mission bodies supporting the migrant work. Too much of the support for religious workers, with rare exceptions, came from large farmers or corporations who wished contented and docile workers. Church nurses bound up the wounds of the children and people, told religious stories, and did a fine work, but it did not lead to changing the vicious system of agriculture which requires seasonal workers and which makes sure that it has them, crisis or no crisis.

The Methodists of the California Conference are again launching a program for migrants. Recently, Rev. Leo Hamilton has been appointed as minister to migrants in California.

Such is the present situation. The future does not look good. The same old problems are with us.

1. The small farmer is again on the verge of fighting for his very existence.

2. The large farmers, thoroughly organized and with capital other than that from agriculture, are prepared to squeeze every dollar out of the consumer and worker that is possible.

3. With rare exceptions, housing is not better, but worse.

4. State control of housing and work conditions have long since been abandoned with the removal of Carey MacWilliams from the Division of Immigration and Housing.

5. The farms in California are just as large, in fact larger and there are a few more corporation farms financed by world-wide organizations.

All of which means that because of the type of farming that we have, large scale, industrialized, we will also have the seasonal workers and all of the problems which go with them.

The seasonal workers are human. A cross section of them reveals a similar proportion of kinds and character of people to any other low income group. Perhaps there is a larger proportion of wholesome folks among the farm workers. Those who went to the city seemed to lose a great deal of moral character.

And just as any other low income group, they need understanding, cooperative help, and a chance to make a home for themselves. Outlining a program of definite help is easy. Getting it done is difficult. The possibilities for significant economic, social and religious development are great. A socially minded church could do wonders.

But will it?

## The Methodist Federation for Social Service

(UNOFFICIAL)

150 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

To assist in providing a quadrennial budget sufficient to make possible a vigorous and effective program—

I apply for membership and agree to contribute annually for the fiscal years, June 1, '46–May 31, '47, '47–'48, '48–'49, '49–50:

☐ Sustaining Membership from \$20..... ☐ Youth Membership (Under 25) \$2–\$2.50.....

☐ Contributing Membership \$10–\$20..... ☐ Bulletin Membership \$2.....

☐ Regular Membership \$5–\$10..... (Bulletin only. Non-voting)

(Check form of membership desired and indicate exact amount)

Date..... Business or Profession.....

Name of local church..... Conference .....

Your address: Street..... City..... State .....

Enclosed herewith.....

Balance when?..... (Signed).....

(Date)